

Labor Market of Ukraine and its Migration Potential in Social Dimension

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Abstract

The paper introduces the results of a recent sociological investigation regarding labor migration in Ukraine under the transformation of economic and social relations. The principal attention is paid to the general characteristics of the social state of Ukrainian society and the situation on the Ukrainian labor market, the strategies of Ukraine's citizens in search of resources for surviving, their readiness to market transformations and migration motivations. Labor migration as an integral part of globalization processes in their understanding is also examined. Ukrainian labor migrants are categorized by their legal status abroad.

General characteristics of the social state of the society

It is extremely hard for people in Ukraine to adapt to the realities of modern life in the country, which is suffering from a lingering crisis. Its state is characterized by a considerable social tension and the lack of material and psychological security. The need to struggle for survival during economic crisis has an impact on people's evaluation of life quality. According to the data resulting from the monitoring of social changes in the Ukrainian society, carried out annually by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine since 1994, to date 56.4% of Ukraine's citizens are not satisfied with their life at all, and 61.4% with their social status. Those who assess their lives positively are much fewer – only 18.6%, and just 11.2% of those polled are satisfied with their social status. The rest of those polled abstained from assessment.

There is a lack of optimistic hopes regarding the improvement of living standards in the next year. Almost one of two (47.4%) is sure that no improvement will happen, and only 12.4% of those polled consider that their lives will get better in the near future. A large part of the respondents has difficulties answering the question on the life changes (40.0%). As compared to last year, the material conditions of 42.2% of Ukrainian families have considerably or slightly deteriorated (considerably - 21.8%, slightly - 20.4%). The same quantity of those polled (43.0%) witness deterioration of employment safety. Only 13.5% of respondents mention improvement of living standards, and 8.1% employment safety. At the moment of polling, 2.4% of respondents did not have any sources of income; 7.1% more did not have a permanent workplace, but worked in different places depending on circumstances; and the share of registered unemployed made up 2.4%.

According to State Statistic Committee data, in 2003 the average number of unemployed in Ukraine reached 2,045 thousand, defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO) methodology. The highest unemployment level was registered in Hmel'nitsk (14.1%), Volyn (13.7%), Ternopil (13.6%), Zhytomir (13.6%), Mykholaiv (13.5%), Sumy (13.2%), Rivne (12.6%), and Ivano-Frankivsk (12.6%) regions; and the lowest in Kyiv (5.0%) and Odessa region (5.7%).

In the context of this report, the main actors are those Ukrainian citizens who intend to go abroad for temporary jobs, irrespective of whether they have an experience of foreign labor migration or not.

The situation in the Ukrainian labor market

The general situation of the Ukrainian labor markets is assessed by Ukrainian citizens as very negative. Three fourths of the adults are sure that it is quite difficult to find a job in Ukraine that corresponds to their preferences and is properly paid. One of two individuals (56.5%) thinks that it is also hard to get a job that demands the level of qualification possessed by employees, without guaranteeing sufficient earnings though. Seven out of ten respondents witness difficulties in job placement beyond their profession field that guarantee sufficient wages; and each second citizen of working age (56.4%) is convinced that it is hard to find any job. In their opinion, unemployment threatens first of all pre-retirement people, people with disabilities, women with under-age children and those with poor health.

The uncertain situation of the Ukrainian labor market and the necessity to find new sources of income switched on self-organization mechanisms. Labor migration of Ukrainians abroad has become one of the most effective ways to survive. At the beginning of 2004 the members of 12.1% of Ukrainian

families (at the end of 2002 – 10.2%) gained experience of working abroad. The most attractive countries for labor migrants are Russia and Poland, followed by Germany, the Czech Republic, Italy and Portugal. Job placement of more than a half of Ukraine's citizens was arranged based on verbal agreement with an employer, without legal labor contract. The rest of the people either signed a labor contract while still in Ukraine or in the country of destination. Half of those who have already acquired work experience abroad, intend to return again in the nearest future with the aim of temporary work there.

In 2003 men wanted to work in foreign countries more often (54.2% against 45.2%), and the average age of potential labor migrants was 33. Over half of them (54.2%) have families, and a considerable part of them has a completed secondary education (40.7%), special secondary education (28.8%) and incomplete secondary education (13.6%). The inhabitants from towns make up the main part of them (42.4%), followed by people from rural areas (28.8%), less frequently inhabitants from cities (25.4%) and people from the capital (3.4%).

Those who have a job are most likely dissatisfied with it. Both labor migrants and others without working experience abroad are rarely satisfied with the job content at their workplaces. But wage rates, the quality of social security and the level of social sphere development at their workplaces bring about the largest dissatisfaction of the employees. In the hierarchy of Ukrainian citizens' values, a job, in particular an interesting job, occupies one of the highest positions. Compatriots who have already gained an experience of labor migration abroad (91.7%) give especially high assessment to the opportunity of having an interesting job. However, Ukrainian citizens would like not only to be involved in an appropriate job that would meet their requirements and expectations. They also want to have a challenging job, but they very rarely have the opportunity to find such a job.

It should be noted, however, that the share of the unemployed is higher in the group of potential labor migrants. Constrained unemployment of Ukrainians is most likely one of the main reasons of their search of a job beyond Ukraine's borders. The share of the unemployed among potential labor migrants totals 24.6%, while for the rest of compatriots it amounts only 12.8%. One should add to this that the share of non-working pensioners in the group of potential immigrants does not exceed 2.5%, while the share of old people living in Ukraine on exceptionally low pension amounts to 30%.

Those who have a job in Ukraine work mainly in the public sector (28.0%), only 20.3% of those polled work in private companies. However, one can observe another trend in the group of labor migrants. Each third of them (33.3%) works in the private sector and only each fourth (25.6%) is engaged to work in public enterprises, organizations and institutions. Among them, twice as many people define their own status as being "self-employed", meaning individual labor activity or freelance activity (11.9% against 5.0%).

People engaged exceptionally on Ukrainian labor markets, as well as those having work experience abroad mention, as a rule, that their present job does not meet their educational and professional level (40.3% and 43.5% accordingly). All of them evidence that employment security, as well as provision of the state's working-age citizens with workplaces have considerably or slightly deteriorated. Potential labor migrants mention this a little more often (47.0%). And though divergences in their assessments are not that significant, their frequent appearance in the group of potential labor migrants proves one more time that our compatriots' decisions to search for workplaces abroad are affected by unemployment on domestic labor markets.

Potential labor migrants consider more often than their compatriots that unemployment is rather a real threat to them, and this is clear, because the overwhelming majority of them is from towns and rural areas. However, difficulties harden the character. Potential labor migrants refer themselves to people who have more chances for success in life more often than others. And those who fear that there are no chances for success are four times fewer (7.6% against 29.9%). Those compatriots who intend to go abroad in search of a job are more often sure than others that their survival and success in life can be guaranteed by their ability to set an aim and achieve it (44.1% against 30.6%), persistency, diligence and patience (52.5% against 38.8%) and, of course, good luck (41.5% against 35.2%).

Ukraine's citizens in search of resources for surviving

One of two Ukrainian asserts that he/she lacks money for foodstuff; each fourth – for living in general. Only one of ten citizen of Ukraine can purchase everything he/she needs, but has nothing to make savings of. And just 1.6% of our compatriots can save money, and 0.2% - are well of. However, 11.0% of the country's citizens have neither money, nor food – they have to starve. The financial position of potential labor migrants, under their own assessments, looks better. The families of potential labor migrants have better material support. Among them households in which members have enough money to get everything necessary, and some of them can make savings appear more often (Table 1).

In search of resources to survive, Ukrainian citizens choose various strategies. Their choice is affected by different factors, among which a system of values acquires a specific meaning. In order to provide proper living standards, every second Ukrainian, is ready, first of all, to work from early morning till late evening. Almost the same number of Ukrainians are ready to accept any work if it paid well. Last, they would go to another country, where they could earn more than at home. Labor migrants, in contrast to other compatriots, set priorities in a different way. They consider that to provide a family with a proper well-being, their compatriots will most likely go abroad in search of a job (58.2% against 45.8%). If this option is inaccessible to them for some reason, than they, in potential labor migrants' view will be working tirelessly from morning till evening in their own country (56.6% against 52.6%). And last, they will accept any work, if it is well paid (52.7% against 47.5%). These assessments are based on the experience of our compatriots who have already worked abroad, on the observation of their way of life, welfare, and behavior. We will later discuss this experience.

To increase the revenues of the family budget, Ukrainians often use the property they own: their land plot, house or apartment, car, computer, livestock and agricultural machinery, much more rarely – their shares and other securities. Labor migrants' families do this 1.2 times more often. As compared to other Ukrainian citizens, labor migrants use their ID on a commercial purpose 2.3 times more frequently (10.6% against 4.7%) and 6.9 times on a computer (3.9% against 0.6%).

However, the main part of the Ukrainian citizens' family income consists of the salary, which can be received from sources such as the principal workplace (57.2%), pension (44.5%), revenues from the goods produced at their private plots (14.2%), and benefits and subsidies (11.6%). Labor migrants point to the salary at the principal workplace as the main source of income 1.1 times more often, and to pension - 1.3 more seldom. Incomes from temporary work abroad make a noticeable contribution to the consolidation of economic standing of labor migrants' households. They mention the improvement of material living conditions of their families for the last year more frequently, while other citizens of the

country are rather inclined to negative assessment of changes in their households: each second of them witnesses deterioration of his/her family's material welfare. There are more people among labor migrants who consider that their living standards remained the same as in the last year. Labor migrants are more often real estate owners: three fourths of them have purchased their dwellings, as compared to only two thirds of the rest of the citizens. Houses and apartments of labor migrants are equipped better, more often provided with warm water, sewage system, gas and electric stoves; noticeably more frequently they are installed with a telephone, and their total floorspace is larger.

The readiness of Ukraine's citizens to market transformations and their migration motivations

The creation of equal opportunities for all citizens in the society provides for equal initial conditions along with freedom of individual choice of life strategies. In the social consciousness of the Ukrainian nation this is an absolute value, and most citizens realize it (Pribytkova I., 2003: 113). More than a half of participants of the monitoring carried out by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (57.8%) consider the creation of equal opportunities to start a new life under conditions of the country's capitalization to be very important; and each third finds it important. High importance of equal initial conditions is most frequently pointed out by labor migrants that have an experience of working abroad as well as by potential labor migrants.

The readiness to adapt to new market conditions and cataclysms of the transition period is higher within potential labor migrants. While solving their life problems, this group of individuals is mainly oriented to finding opportunities independently, without counting on the state's help and support, as it used to be not long ago. People disposed to earn money are, obviously, psychologically even-tempered and perceive life more optimistically. They consider 1.3 times more seldom that living conditions have considerably or partially deteriorated for the last year (38.1% against 50.6%), however they assert 1.7 times more frequently that their existence and mood slightly or appreciably improved (18.8% against 10.8%).

Potential labor migrants recognize market perspectives more than other citizens. Estimating the positive and negative sides of privatisation, they more often support the state property privatisation, free and open land market formation. Potential labor migrants approve the creation of the new favourable climate for entrepreneurship in Ukraine 1.5 times more often than their compatriots; and 1.7 times more often they assess the creation of private enterprises, as well as the support of business and farming as an important factor of business initiative development.

Potential labor migrants are much more readily inclined to cooperation with western countries and international organizations than other Ukrainian citizens, who prefer working in the domestic market. Being people with mainly pro-western orientation, who have been included in business activity, they support market values 2.2 times more often. The most sizeable part of respondents from this group is ready to adhere to 'capitalism' (23.8% or each fourth).

Future employees assess the opportunities of business development initiative as a very important perspective for them twice more often (35.6% against 17.8%) and 1.3 express their wish for having an interesting job more often (70.9% against 55.8%). They feel more confident in their strength and more determined in achieving their aims, they more often demonstrate their ability to live in the new social

conditions revealing remarkable energy, initiative and independence while solving vital problems. Among them there are twice as many people with good or even perfect health (28.0% against 14.2%).

Half of potential employees have some work experience abroad, and life standards and work conditions in other countries are thoroughly familiar to them. So, it is not by chance that every second participant of the poll going to work abroad admitted that they would like to leave the place where they live with their family. Three fourths of potential labor migrants have relatives or close friends living abroad permanently, and maintain contacts with them in person, or via mail and telephone. Their compatriots who that are not going to work abroad also have relatives and close friends living beyond Ukraine's borders, and also keep in touch with them in one way or another. But only every second of them confirms affinity with those abroad, and their contacts with them is less frequent. They correspond with their foreign relatives almost twice more seldom (17.9% against 33.9%), speak with them over the telephone 1.9 times more seldom (22.5% against 12.4%), hardly ever use e-mail to contact them (0.6%), visit them 1.6 times more rarely (7.4% against 11.9%), and host them 1.4 times more rarely (13.4% against 18.6%). They refuse to visit their relatives and friends permanently or temporary living abroad 1.3 times more often.

The intention of moving abroad is also specific to other Ukrainians that provide the local labor markets with manpower, but this intention can be observed much more rarely: only each fifth from this contingent would like to leave their homeland. It should be noted that six out of them will never leave Ukraine. Local patriotism holds only each third potential labor migrant at home.

Where exactly do our compatriots want to go? Each third (33.9%) potential employee confidently names foreign countries. Each fourth (28.0%) is undetermined about their place of eventual emigration, and each eighth (12.7%) chooses Russia. Among those who do not intend to work abroad there are noticeably fewer people that want to emigrate, and their migration preferences are divided almost equally among the countries beyond CIS, Russia and other regions of Ukraine: 10.2%, 9.2% and 11.6% accordingly. As a rule, they do not know yet, which side they will move toward: each fifth respondent (18.6%) is still undecided about the target country of migration. And they have not decided whether they will indeed go there. If only there wasn't poverty... Full-fed bulls don't roar.

Labor migration as an integral part of globalisation processes

In the modern world, labor migration along with the flow of capital, goods, technologies, and information is one of the main components of globalisation processes. International labor migration has become an integral part of world economy. According to ILO assessment, at the beginning of the 21st century there are 36 to 42 million labor migrants in the world (Stalker, P, 2000:17). Ukraine has already joined the world modernization processes and could not avoid the related trends and contradictions. They have proved to be tightly connected with Ukraine's integration into the present-day world migration system. The flows of Ukrainian labor migrants are directed to most European (and not only European) states.

The participants of the monitoring sociological poll carried out by the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine range their opinion on the globalisation process as follows. First of all, they connect globalisation with the opportunity to use cheap manpower of Ukrainian guest workers in the developed countries of the world; advantages of international efforts' consolidation in

the struggle against terror; brain drain to the wealthy western countries; the hope of Ukraine's citizens to find a job abroad; the chance for our youth to get education in the West; an incentive for rapid development of economically backward states etc.

People with work experience abroad as well as those who just intend to go there to work in the nearest future express, more often than other compatriots, that Ukraine performs the duties of cheap manpower donor for European and other labor markets (39.8% against 28.8%). Also, they more frequently point out the opportunities for Ukrainian citizens to find a job abroad (35.6% against 23.3%) and consider that the youth are fortunate to have the opportunity to study in the West (22.9% against 14.9%). Guest workers understand, better than others, the importance and significance of globalisation for Ukrainian processes in respect of efforts' consolidation in the struggle against ecocatastrophes (30.5% against 21.4%). The most interesting is that guest workers appreciate the advantages of the Internet sooner and to a larger extent than their compatriots (11.0% against 6.9%).

However, respondents cannot assess in full the positive and negative aspects and consequences of the globalisation processes; but those who have already worked or are going to work beyond Ukraine's borders have proved to be better informed: 61.9% of them hesitated over an answer, while 71.9% of respondents among the other compatriots did not know how to answer this question. There are more adherents of globalisation among guest workers (23.7% against 13.7%). In any case, labor migrants with work experience in a foreign country very rarely talk about being there in a negative way - only 1.7% of traders, and 3.4% of those who have worked there.

Potential labor migrants assess the role of western lifestyle to be fairly important: four out of ten respondents (41.5%) are sure that familiarization with western standards helps our youth to master the modern world; almost the same percentage (37.3%) considers that their knowledge facilitates tolerant attitudes towards people of different races, nationalities, cultures and religions; and each fifth (21.2%) sees their positive contribution to the union of various ethnic societies around the general universal culture and lifestyle. As compared to their compatriots, future guest workers more often express that as a result of familiarization with the western culture and behaviour standards, the Ukrainian society adopts the best patterns of world culture (19.5% against 10.6%). In contrast to them, other Ukrainians point out first of all the pernicious influence of the west, which ruins the moral principles of the Ukrainian society (33.0%) and hacks the roots of national culture (26.5%). From their point of view, the patterns of western culture and lifestyle uncritically borrowed from abroad form moral values that are not inherent to Ukrainian citizens (21.7%).

Which moral values and standards of western lifestyle are considered to interfere most actively in the life of the Ukrainian society? With a rare unanimity, our compatriots put sexual freedom on the first place (50.0% against 39.0%), cult of money (49.1% against 44.6%), and personal freedom and independence (42.4% against 28.6%). Other priorities vary among the respondents. Potential guest workers approve and positively perceive moral values and norms of western lifestyle, such as entrepreneurship (38.1%), practicality and pragmatism (32.2%), aspiration for success at any price (30.5%) and ability to work hard (24.6%). Those compatriots who are loyal to domestic labor markets choose a different order, giving preference to aspiration for success at any price (28.1%), resourcefulness (21.5%), ability to work hard (18.3%) and last, practicality and pragmatism (17.0%).

The perspective of universalization of modern western culture and life style and its c predominance in the world is perceived by our compatriots without any enthusiasm. Almost every second of those

polled was unable to assess this perspective. The choice of the rest of Ukraine's inhabitants is quite eloquent: three out of ten citizens reject such future; almost each fifth is indifferent about civilization expansion of this way. Adherents of a unified future based on western values and life standards are in minority. However, it should be noted that individuals who welcome the future triumphal movement of modern western cultural patterns in the world can be met twice more often among potential labor migrants (14.5% against 7.3%). In any case, now they prefer mostly western manufactured goods. During the last year, 27.4% of potential guest workers bought mainly foreign wares, while the rest of their compatriots did it twice less often (13.0%). The latter, as a rule, more often support domestic producers (30.8% against 25.7%). However, both groups demonstrate their patriotic feelings concerning food market almost with the same frequency: seven out of ten Ukrainian citizens buy them. Foreign food is not popular in Ukraine. Only 1.5% of our compatriots buy such products. But sometimes they combine them with food produced in Ukraine – each fifth Ukrainian makes such purchases.

The legal status of Ukrainian labour migrants

Ukrainian migrant workers can be categorized by their legal status as follows:

- persons with a permanent residence permit simultaneously securing the right of unlimited employment;
- persons with a temporary residence and employment permit;
- persons staying legally temporarily (for treatment, education, tourism or private purposes) and working illegally in a foreign country;
- persons staying illegally and working illegally in a foreign country.

Workers belonging to the first two categories are best protected in legal terms. The permanent residence and employment permit equates its holder with the citizens of the host country. With respect to fair work remuneration, employment guarantee and the right of medical protection, these workers rarely come across severe problems since they conclude a written labour contract with an employer and are consequently protected by the labour legislation of the host country. According to the Human Rights Commissioner of the Ukraine Supreme Council, the rights of the Ukrainian labour migrants belonging to these two categories are most frequently violated by employers' refusal to employ Ukrainian workers even when they hold a permanent residence permit which secures them the right to work. These infringements are most numerous in the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan.

The analysis of appeals to the Human Rights Commissioner of the Supreme Council has revealed the following main problems for temporary labour migrants from Ukraine. First of all, young women departing to Turkey and Japan for work in the entertainment industry, in particular in night clubs and restaurants, are affected. Despite their legal status, their rights are rudely violated by employers through forced prostitution, and non-compliance with the working contract with regard to labour conditions and adequate and timely remuneration for work.

Legal temporary workers in Greece, Portugal, Italy, Spain, the Czech Republic and Russia also often have to confront problems. Owing to innovations in the national laws of Greece and Portugal, Ukrainian citizens illegally staying in these countries have the opportunity to legalize their residence and to properly register their labour contracts. This has significantly broadened the possibilities for

legal support including that from diplomatic representatives abroad and advocate assistance.

Such assistance is mostly requested to recover non-paid salaries and compensations of damage in case of incidence or death. According to the data of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), only during ten months of 2002 diplomatic representatives rendered assistance to 183 Ukrainian citizens in recovery of non-paid salary totalling 624,600 US \$.

Legal migrant workers are mostly composed of skilled personnel, in particular scientists and teachers (Mexico), physicians (Libya, Yemen), and programmers (USA, Germany). The majority of them registers their labour contract through State Employment Centers or non-governmental mediation structures in the framework of bilateral agreements on employment between these countries and Ukraine.

According to the Ukrainian Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (MLSP), such agreements on employment have been concluded with Belarus, Armenia, Vietnam, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Portugal, the Russian Federation, and Slovakia. Agreements with Azerbaijan, Argentina, Belgium, Greece, Georgia, Iran, Spain, Kazakhstan, Cyprus, Congo, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Switzerland are prepared.

As a rule, these agreements stipulate time-limited employment of Ukrainian citizens from six months to four years. Some agreements, like the one with Slovakia, establish quantitative quotas.

Such agreements represent one of the most effective mechanisms guaranteeing the rights of Ukrainian labour migrants abroad. In particular, they guarantee the application of the residence country's Labour Code and medical insurance to the labour migrant. Apart from that, the employer undertakes to compensate accidents or death at work. Furthermore, the bilateral agreements indicate the language in which the contract has to be written and the rights for information.

Apart from employment agreements, treaties on social protection are also of importance for migrant workers. Bilateral agreements at the intergovernmental level operate now between Ukraine and Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria, Georgia, Spain, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Mongolia, Russia, Romania, Slovakia, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Conclusion of such agreements with other countries is planned as well. Ukraine has also signed multilateral agreements on social protection in the framework of the CIS.

The Human Rights Commissioner stresses the necessity of organizing a permanent monitoring on the implementation of bilateral and multilateral agreements in order to evaluate and enhance their effectiveness.

Conclusions

The monitoring data of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine give grounds to conclude that people who are looking for and find jobs in foreign labor markets are forced to make this choice by not only increasing unemployment, but also by their entrepreneurial skills and character as well as their specific needs and values.

Those who are not afraid of working and living abroad assert 1.7 times more often that they have actively entered new life and market conditions seem rather natural to them. Potential labor migrants include 1.6 times more people who are constantly looking for their niche in the modern society; and 1.8 times less of those who are going with the stream and have no desire to adapt to present-day real-

ities. Fortunately, these people have not lost their ability to expect changes for the better. One should also mention that individuals who are actively seeking for their place in the modern life dominate among potential labor migrants. They are many – almost each second (46.6%). Among their compatriots that do not intend to search a job abroad, one can most frequently find people who have no desire or are unable to adapt to hard conditions of present-day Ukrainian life (37.2%), and only 29.5% of individuals find themselves in permanent search of a new identity.

Both groups are equally satisfied with their present social status (11.2%). But the relative number of people who assess their social status negatively is several times larger. They are to be found more often among those who are not going to work beyond Ukraine's borders (62.5% against 50.9%). The latter group, as a rule, contains more people who identify themselves as residents from rural areas, regions or cities as well as those who still do not acknowledge themselves the citizens of the former Soviet Union. In contrast to them, the group of potential labor migrants contains more people who identify themselves as Ukraine's citizens (45.3% against 40.8%).

Although both groups demonstrate features eternally specific to the Ukrainian nation, such as diligence, patience, firmness, and liability, that of potential guest workers includes a larger number of such people. In the general opinion of both groups, the most important signs of a person's success in our country are wealth, career, and the achievement of authoritative positions. It should be noted that wealth as an evidence of success is most frequently mentioned by potential labor migrants (55.9% against 46.5%).

Estimating the changes that have occurred in their lives during the recent years and that affected them personally, first of all both groups point out the change in the state's attitude towards them (42.7%); increased life requirements (34.4%); the introduction of new rules to be followed in order to achieve success (25.8%); the decrease of opportunities for goal achievement (19.5%); the change in people's judgment about what is good and what is bad (17.8%); and last, the transformation of principal living values (13.2%).

Those who plan to go abroad in search of a job point, more often than their compatriots, to change in life requirements (39.0% against 34.1%) and rules to be followed in order to achieve success (37.3% against 25.0%). They more often complain about the narrowing opportunities for achieving their life goals (28.8% against 18.8%) and the uncertainty of people's judgment about what is good and what is bad (28.0% against 17.1%), more often feel regret about lost life values in the Ukrainian society (17.8% against 12.9%), and more often notice changes in people's attitude towards each other (15.3% against 10.0%). Probably, the living conditions in which they exist contain a considerable potential of negative information that affects their assessments. Therefore, they feel the loss of normal life conditions more keenly than others (37.3% against 30.9%), more often feel confused while thinking about Ukraine's future (29.7% against 19.2%). But they are people who are able to withstand economic difficulties, seek for ways out of intricate situations in life, make responsible decisions and achieve their objectives.

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TABLE 1. *Material Welfare of Ukrainian Families, End 2002–Beginning 2003*

Material welfare of Ukrainian families	All families in Ukraine	Share in the families, %	
		potential labor migrants	the rest of Ukraine's citizens
Often does not have money and food - sometimes leads a beggarly life	3.0	1.7	3.0
Lacks food - sometimes starves	7.6	1.7	8.0
Has enough money just for food	47.5	36.5	48.2
Has enough money for living in general	28.1	28.3	27.5
Has enough money for everything necessary, but has nothing to make savings of	11.9	18.3	11.5
Has enough money for everything necessary, makes savings	1.7	3.5	1.6
Well-off	0.2	-	0.2